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Monday, 13 December 1993 at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY (Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 3:25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 38 *(continued)* AND 39 *(continued)*

ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/48/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/48/43)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/467 and Add. 1, A/48/523, A/48/691)

(d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL AND DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE (FOURTH COMMITTEE) (A/48/657)

(e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/48/L.29, A/48/L.30, A/48/L.31/Rev.1, A/48/L.36)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/524)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.37)

Mr. KALPAGÉ (Sri Lanka): At the outset, let me thank Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, for his statement introducing the Committee's report (A/48/22). Over the years, the Special Committee, as the United Nations body entrusted with the monitoring of developments in South Africa, has played an important role in gathering international support for the elimination of apartheid. We wish to record our deep appreciation for the work done by the Special Committee. Four years after the United Nations adopted by consensus, on 14 December 1989, the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in South Africa, Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress, made a statement at the meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid held on 24 September this year. Mr. Mandela declared that

> "the countdown to democracy in South Africa has begun. The date for the demise of the white minority regime has been determined, agreed and set".

The long-awaited transition to democracy from the system of apartheid has now been enshrined in the law of South Africa. We welcome the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council of South Africa, which began to function on 8 December.

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Some four months from now, on 27 April 1994, all the people of South Africa will join in the historic act of electing a Government of their choice. Legislation has been passed to create the institutions of State and statutory organs necessary to ensure that these elections will be free and fair.

At this crucial juncture in the transition from apartheid to a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, the international community, and the United Nations in particular, must remain vigilant and actively support the process of change in South Africa through this still fragile period.

In this connection, the report (A/48/202) of the mission to South Africa undertaken by the delegation of the Special Committee against Apartheid in March 1993 contains useful observations and recommendations. The mission emphasized three areas of special concern: the threat to the negotiating process posed by political violence; that one-man, one-vote elections must be seen to be free and fair; and the need to facilitate the full participation of a new South Africa in international cooperation, in particular with regard to assistance for the reconstruction of its economy.

These same points were stressed by a number of persons in their testimony before the Special Political and Decolonization Committee of the General Assembly, which Sri Lanka had the honour to chair this year.

Much of the violence has arisen from political factors. However, a large number of the crimes committed have been due to socio-economic causes and ordinary criminal practices. Political violence seems to stem from the rivalry for political control in certain areas, as well as the clandestine activities by sections of the security forces, which cannot be ruled out. The widespread possession of firearms by individuals and the smuggling of arms into South Africa are causes for concern.

The escalation of violence is related also to a deteriorating socio-economic situation. There has been a large-scale migration of rural poor into urban areas. Under-education, illiteracy and an unemployment rate of 46 per cent of the work force among the black population are aggravating factors. There is therefore an urgent need for programmes of socio-economic assistance to be put into place. Resources will have to be mobilized for the enormous task of reconstruction and rehabilitation in an equitable manner to reverse the destructive effects of apartheid and for its eventual elimination. The lifting of economic sanctions imposed by the General Assembly is a step in the right direction.

In ensuring that the elections will be free and fair, the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority will have to play their specified roles. In the short period available, voter education must proceed apace. Democratic core values and political tolerance must be emphasized. The United Nations needs to consider immediately arrangements for international electoral monitors and their deployment, months in advance of the actual election.

Following the elections and the establishment of a non-racial Government, the question of South Africa's return to the international community and the resumption of its participation in the work of the General Assembly will have to be considered.

The months ahead are still fraught with difficult problems. But the spirit of tolerance and compromise displayed by those leading South Africa to a new future must be maintained at all costs. Sri Lanka expresses the hope that this spirit will continue. The awarding of the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize to Mr. Nelson Mandela and President Frederik W. de Klerk for their work in laying the foundation for a new and democratic South Africa would surely have been amply justified.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate that Sri Lanka will continue to support the South African people in their efforts to achieve a peaceful transition to a united, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa. In this connection, a mission from Sri Lanka has already visited South Africa.

Mr. ELARABY (Egypt) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: At the beginning of its statement, the delegation of Egypt wishes on behalf of the presidency of the Organization of African Unity, to extend thanks and appreciation to the Special Committee against Apartheid and in particular to its President, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, for the efforts the Committee has deployed for several years and continues to deploy towards the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and the building of a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa. The delegation of Egypt should also like to express deep appreciation to the Committee for its comprehensive report (A/48/22).

The African continent as a whole is following with great interest the current important developments on the political scene in South Africa, and it hopes that the peaceful settlement efforts will achieve the necessary and aspired-to stability. It also hopes that this session might be the last time that the General Assembly holds a debate on the apartheid system.

I should like to recall, in addressing, this forum, how the African leaders who participated in the African Summit in Cairo last June welcomed the resumption of negotiations in the framework of a multi-party negotiating process and the agreement to hold the first democratic elections in South Africa in April 1994.

I should like also to highlight the determination of the countries of the continent to support all efforts aimed at establishing a non-racist, democratic and unified State through genuine and serious negotiation.

The past few years have witnessed extremely important developments, which have paved the way towards the elimination of the abhorrent apartheid policy. Those years have also witnessed a growing trend towards solving the political conflict in South Africa through peaceful negotiation.

There has been agreement also that all the parties should spare no effort in putting an end to the violence. All this has led to the setting up of a multi-party negotiating process in which a large number of parties and political groupings have participated. A number of significant agreements have been reached. This new and constructive spirit shown by the participants in the negotiations has led also to the adoption of a historic decision to establish a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) with the principal task of setting up a democratic system in South Africa and overseeing the transition to a democratic order. The creation of the TEC is of particular significance, since it represents the first time the majority of the population of South Africa has participated at the Government level in the process of self-determination to decide its future.

Nelson Mandela described the TEC as a historic step towards an interim national-unity Government that will be established following the non-racial elections. The TEC is also the proper mechanism for interaction with the international community until a new Government is created.

A number of binding constitutional principles have been adopted to guarantee the establishment of a democratic Government that will take regional diversity into consideration in the framework of a strong central Government, and the date for free elections for the Constituent Assembly has been set for April 1994.

The agreement on the transition to a new political system in South Africa is based on the principle of one-man, one-vote, and this has been achieved through the personal integrity of the two leaders, the President of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, and President De Klerk, both of whom have worked for reconciliation in South Africa rather than dwelling on the wounds of the past. Both have demonstrated exemplary and unique political courage and have well deserved the Nobel Peace Prize, which they were awarded in recognition of their efforts and as a symbol of the support of the early establishment of democracy and equality in a country that has suffered for so many generations from the brutality of racial discrimination, violence and intolerance.

The constructive developments on the political scene in South Africa have had a positive influence on the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). On 29 September 1993 the Ad Hoc Committee met, under the chairmanship of the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and adopted a historic resolution calling upon the African countries and the international community as a whole, and in particular the United Nations, to respond positively to the appeal made by Nelson Mandela to lift all economic sanctions imposed on South Africa in response to the historic progress achieved towards democratization in that country, in order to give the necessary impetus to the forces of democracy to continue with their work and to assist in the creation of a suitable climate for the achievement of stability and economic and social progress.

In a historic and impressive meeting on 8 October 1993 the General Assembly adopted resolution 48/1, in which it decided immediately to lift all sanctions imposed on South Africa and to halt the oil embargo as of the date that the Transitional Executive Council becomes operational.

There is still a long way to go and the road is fraught with danger and expected violence, but there is one unalterable fact, namely that there will be no return to the apartheid system. The developments that have taken place are irreversible, and the forces of change will bring about further developments in the right direction. Violent acts may be perpetrated by the forces of reaction and more innocent people may lose their lives as a result of attacks and aggression by elements of the National Security Forces and anonymous assassins. But political violence and assassinations will not halt the forward march towards stability. Indeed, there can be no turning back.

Mr. SELOMA (Botswana): Many of us from the subregion of southern Africa never expected to witness the end of apartheid and the opening up of the floodgates of freedom in South Africa so soon. The words of Mr. Mandela in his address to the Special Committee against Apartheid in September, when he said

"The date for the demise of the white minority regime has been determined, agreed and set",

were therefore received with great incredulity. The adoption of the draft interim Constitution and the enabling Electoral Act on 18 November 1993, pointing the way to the end of apartheid, was therefore most welcome.

The tyrannical system of white minority rule in South Africa has had catastrophic consequences for my country, one of the most democratic and peace-loving nations in southern Africa. The tranquillity that Botswana has enjoyed since its rebirth in 1966, when the country attained its independence, was daily subjected to threats from the minority white regime. The constant cross-border raids into the territory of my country cost us dearly in human lives and destroyed property. Yet, in the most peaceful manner for which Botswana is known, our nation stood firm and refused to submit to racial tyranny.

In South Africa itself we witnessed some of the most horrifying acts of human rights abuse ever committed against humanity, ranging from mass murders to torture and detention without trial. More often than not many who, at great risk to their lives, in the darkest of night, walked across the border into Botswana to seek asylum, were followed and mercilessly murdered in their sleep.

These are some of the reasons why we are so euphoric about the progress achieved so far in the negotiations for a peaceful, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The adoption three weeks ago of the interim Constitution marked a definitive beginning of the country's transition to democracy. The transition will in four months culminate in the holding of the first non-racial general elections.

The statesmanship demonstrated by the leaders of South Africa, black and white, in their tireless efforts, day and night, to bring all parties together at the negotiating table, has been proof of their commitment to a non-racial democratic future for their strife-torn country. We take pleasure in praising them for their wisdom and diligence. Above all, however, our commendations go to all the people of South Africa. The road they have travelled to get where they are today has not been easy. They faced many hurdles, but because of their strong will and commitment, they persevered. They have shown the world that together, in a spirit of cooperation and reconciliation, they can rise above political divisions and centuries-old animosities.

Notwithstanding the positive developments, one issue of serious concern to us is the endemic violence that continues to ravage many parts of the country. Thousands have lost their lives in the most horrific and unimaginable acts of violence. It is imperative at this momentous time for the South African authorities and all political leaders to redouble their efforts to stop the mayhem, for it has the potential to damage the transition to democracy.

We strongly urge those parties that have withdrawn from the negotiation process to rethink their positions for the sake of a peaceful transition and for the common good of all South Africans. Botswana appeals to the international community to urge those who are still bent on preaching the politics of race and fear to respect the will of the majority.

The economic desolation to which the majority of the people of South Africa have been subjected cannot be overemphasized. South Africa will need massive assistance for its democracy to be nurtured and sustained. We appeal to all nations to contribute generously to the enormous task of socio-economic reconstruction so that the new South Africa that is about to be born can meet the frustrated expectations of its people.

Mr. MUSUKA (Zambia): The question of apartheid in South Africa has been on the international agenda for more than four decades. Throughout that period the United Nations has been unrelenting in its ardent opposition to the spectre of apartheid, which was designated a crime against humanity. To be sure the United Nations made numerous efforts to achieve the total elimination of apartheid.

In 1989, at its sixteenth special session, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution containing the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. Elaborate guidelines were agreed upon, defining the parameters by which the international community would work to dismantle the system of apartheid. We are now at a stage where the provisions of that resolution have been implemented, as evidenced by recent actions of the Assembly to remove a series of sanctions and embargoes on South Africa.

Today, unlike on previous occasions, we meet to address ourselves to the elimination of apartheid under new circumstances characterized by the beginning of a countdown to democracy in South Africa. This has been made possible by the approval in South Africa of four bills that provided the basis for the peaceful transition of the country to democracy. Those bills related to the Transitional Executive Council, an independent electoral commission, an independent media commission and an independent broadcasting authority. The four bills were followed by the approval of an interim constitution containing a bill of human rights and provisions for a constitutional court, and by the setting of 27 April 1994 as

the date for the new democratic elections. These positive developments have put South Africa on the threshold of a new and democratic era.

Consequently, the Government of the Republic of Zambia warmly welcomed the signing of a new democratic constitution by the 21 political parties in South Africa on 18 November 1993, at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg. The signing of a new democratic constitution marked the end of an old era and the beginning of a new one, representing the overdue end of 300 years of white minority rule. We therefore commend all the people of South Africa for this landmark historic agreement, which paves the way for the full participation of all the people of South Africa in choosing a Government of their choice on 27 April 1994, on the basis of one person, one vote.

We recognized from the beginning that negotiations leading to the new constitution would not be easy after so many years of mutual mistrust. We therefore pay a fitting tribute to the negotiators, who worked long and sometimes frustrating hours to make this happen. We also pay a special tribute to the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and South African Government negotiating teams, to the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, and to President Frederick W. De Klerk for the mature statesmanship they have displayed throughout the difficult negotiations.

Zambia, which has been in the forefront of the struggle against the system of apartheid since the attainment of independence on 24 October 1964, attaches special importance to this debate on the elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. It is our fervent hope that this will be the last time this issue will be discussed by the General Assembly in particular, and the international community, in general.

It was in appreciation of the unfolding positive developments in South Africa, and following the appeals by Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress of South Africa, that the international community decided, through General Assembly resolution 48/1 of 8 October 1993, to lift sanctions against South Africa, except those relating to the arms embargo and nuclear matters imposed by the Security Council. There cannot be any doubt at all that the lifting of these sanctions against South Africa will go a long way to uplifting the economic and social conditions of the hitherto oppressed, disenfranchised and disadvantaged members of the South African community, and thus address and reverse the glaring inequalities brought about by the obnoxious system of apartheid.

My delegation recognizes, however, that the vast dimensions of the problem of redressing the imbalance between the current privileged minority whites and the majority non-whites will require undivided commitment on the part of the new Government in South Africa, when it is installed, to solve that problem. In fact, there will be high expectations, especially among the blacks, who have been locked out of economic opportunities throughout the era of apartheid, for a better, dignified way of life. There is, therefore, an imperative need for the international community to assist the people of South Africa in the economic reconstruction of their country and to ensure that the new South Africa begins its existence on a firm economic and social foundation.

Today the international community is focusing its attention on the forthcoming elections, to be held on 27 April 1994 in South Africa. To this end, we support an increase in the number of international observers in South Africa as a measure of the international community's continuing commitment and determination to end apartheid. The role of international observers can hardly be overemphasized. Zambia, which gained experience in the utilization of international observers during its general elections in October 1991, which ushered in a new government, can say with confidence that international observers play a singular role in the elections in any country that chooses to welcome such observers. This is all the more true in South Africa, a country with well-defined and entrenched political and ideological beliefs - a country, might I add, where political mistrust stalks the electoral process.

It has been our experience that international observers, once they pronounce elections as free and fair, do confer legitimacy on the election results once and for all. Nowhere is this legitimacy more important and supreme than in South Africa. The deployment of international observers is in itself a confidence-building measure for all the political parties contesting an election.

International observers are also important for another reason. The majority of the people of South Africa - the blacks and other non-white minorities - will be voting for the first time in the history of their country on 27 April 1994. They will be casting their vote for democracy and equality. Many are not versed in the procedures and requirements of the electoral process, and they will need to be educated about voting. In these circumstances, we cannot see how a country like South Africa, which is so vast and complex, can be serviced by the small number of United Nations observers proposed - 500 - to accomplish this task. We urge the United Nations to send 2,000 observers for this important assignment on behalf of democracy in a united and non-racial South Africa.

The conduct of free and fair elections can take place only in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity in South Africa. It is therefore imperative that all South Africans begin cultivating the culture of democracy by showing political tolerance and by putting an end to the violence, which continues to exact a heavy toll in terms of human life and the destruction of property. So-called black-on-black violence, which is in fact engineered by a third force opposed to the eradication of apartheid, should be condemned.

The question of violence in South Africa is an acute and serious one. If it is not contained in these final days of apartheid, it will spill over into the post-apartheid South Africa and assume a momentum of its own, thereby manifesting itself as a destructive culture in South Africa. Its ramifications for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa would be too ghastly to contemplate, but suffice it to say it would be a major liability on nation-building in that great country.

The question of violence should therefore be addressed firmly by the South African authorities, who have the primary responsibility of governing that country in such a way as to put an end to the ongoing violence. They should protect the lives, security and property of all South Africans throughout the country. The South African Government has a governmental and moral responsibility to bring to justice those responsible for acts of violence.

My delegation also appeals to all parties to refrain from acts of violence and calls upon all the signatories to the National Peace Accord to recommit themselves to the process of peaceful change and to contribute to the achievement of the aims of the Accord. We also appeal to all parties in South Africa, including those that did not participate fully in the multi-party talks, to respect the agreements reached during the negotiations, to recommit themselves to democratic principles, to take part in the elections, and to resolve outstanding issues by peaceful means only.

We appeal to all South Africans of different political beliefs and persuasions to realize that, in their path towards a new South Africa, they should all concern themselves with national reconciliation. Extreme nationalism of any kind will not help South Africa. It can only wreck that country.

Furthermore, my delegation supports the measures that the Secretary-General has taken in strengthening the structures set up under the National Peace Accord, including the deployment of United Nations observers in South Africa. We also commend the Secretary-General for deploying additional observers in South Africa to further the purposes of the National Peace Accord. Furthermore, we commend the continuing role of the observers of the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union deployed in South Africa.

Although apartheid is obviously on its deathbed, we still believe that the international community should continue to exercise vigilance with respect to developments in South Africa to ensure the unimpeded establishment of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa, which should go a long way to ensuring regional peace and tranquillity in my country's region, southern Africa.

In that connection, Zambia wishes to appeal to the international community to continue assisting the current liberation movements even after they evolve into political parties. These organizations will face enormous problems as they change from one form of existence into another. We believe that just as assistance was continued to the South West Africa People's Organization in Namibia after it became a political party during the transition, the same should apply to the liberation movements in South Africa. Sudden withdrawal of financial support from political parties like the ANC would put them at a disadvantage as they prepare to assume greater responsibilities in a new South Africa.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the Secretary-General for his lucid report, contained in document A/48/467 of 22 October 1993, entitled "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa". I also commend him for his report, document A/48/524 of 26 October 1993, entitled "United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa". The report outlines many positive achievements made in the educational field in preparing South African blacks for their role in the new political dispensation in South Africa.

Many thanks go also to His Excellency Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, and to his Committee for the excellent work they have done. We want to pay a tribute and offer unreserved thanks to the South African people for their courage, to the Organizations of African Unity, to the front-line States, to the churches and non-governmental organizations and to the international community for their continuous moral, financial and material support for the South Africans during the four decades of apartheid. Last but not least, my thanks go to the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, Ambassador Nyakyi.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: On Tuesday, 14 December, in the morning, the Assembly will take up the following agenda items: agenda item 44, "Strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian emergency assistance of the United Nations", on which a draft resolution has been submitted in document A/48/L.47; agenda item 38, "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa"; and agenda item 39, "United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa".

On Tuesday, 14 December, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up the following items: agenda item 34, "The situation in the Middle East", on which draft resolutions have been submitted in documents A/48/L.32, L.34 and L.46; agenda item 151, "United Nations initiative on opportunity and participation", on which a draft resolution has been submitted in document A/48/L.19/Rev.1; and agenda item 8, "Adoption of the agenda and organization of work", to consider a request for the reopening of the consideration of agenda item 47, submitted by Australia and contained in document A/48/749.

On Thursday, 16 September, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up the reports of the First Committee.

On Friday, 17 December, in the morning, the Assembly will consider agenda item 42, "The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina".

As concerns next week, on Monday, 20 December, in the morning, the Assembly will take up the reports of the Third Committee.

With regard to the scheduling of other agenda items pending consideration by the General Assembly in plenary meeting, the remaining items will be listed in the *Journal* and will be taken up by the Assembly as the relevant documentation becomes available.

Let me take this opportunity to appeal once again to representatives to be punctual. Our practice is to wait for at least three speakers scheduled for a given meeting, but when they are late - and especially when the Hall is empty - it is difficult to begin the proceedings. As members know, the Assembly has reached the peak of its work schedule, with Committee reports coming to it for consideration and with other remaining agenda items, so we need to make better use of the time available to us.

AGENDA ITEMS 38 *(continued)* AND 39 *(continued)*

ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/48/22)

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UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/524)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.37)

Mr. HAJNOCZI (Austria): Less than three months ago, on 24 September, we had the privilege of hearing the President of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), Mr. Nelson Mandela, addressing the Special Committee against Apartheid from this very rostrum on the progress in South Africa's transition.

Mr. Mandela described in vivid terms the economic legacy of apartheid, which has left millions of people in abject poverty without jobs or homes, and appealed to the international community to end the economic sanctions. He urged Governments and peoples to respond to the historic advances towards democracy and to give added impetus to this process by helping create the necessary conditions for stability and social progress.

Consequently, the General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for the lifting of the economic sanctions, and Austria, like many other countries, has since implemented that resolution by taking the necessary national decisions.

But lifting the economic sanctions can only constitute a first step. What is needed is the persistent, active involvement of the international community in rendering economic assistance to the new South Africa. Rightly, the victims of apartheid have high expectations that the new democratic order will mean tangible economic and social advancement for them. It is the view of the Austrian delegation that an active and thriving economy will facilitate the process of peaceful transition to a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Therefore, Austria will strive to contribute to creating the socio-economic underpinning for a prospering democracy, using bilateral and multilateral channels.

When Mr. Nelson Mandela spoke in this Hall, multi-party agreements on the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority had been reached, and the date for general elections had been set for 27 April 1994. However, negotiations on the interim Constitution and the electoral Bill were still pending. Two months later, on 17 November, these vital issues were finally settled in a satisfactory manner.

The interim Constitution is geared to offer all parties with a sizeable following sufficient opportunity to make their voices heard and to contribute their points of view. We therefore urge those parties which did not participate fully in the multi-party talks to adhere to the principles of the interim Constitution and to take part in the democratic process as governed by the electoral Bill and in the elections.

The effective establishment of the Transitional Executive Council on 7 December is a further encouraging sign and a token for the successful completion of the democratization of South Africa. The international community must now focus its attention on assisting the country in organizing and conducting free, fair and equal elections.

Much remains to be done. Previously disenfranchised citizens have to be familiarized with democratic procedures and there must be secure access to the ballot booths for all those eligible to vote. The elections should be monitored by international observers, especially in those critical areas where neutral arbiters could enhance the trust of all parties concerned in the fairness of the democratic process. There is an urgent need to supplement the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA). Austria hopes that UNOMSA will be strengthened very soon. Aware of the lack of available United Nations staff, my Government has offered a number of qualified Austrians for this task and is also prepared to send election monitors to South Africa.

Political violence and intimidation pose an overriding threat to the election process and jeopardize the transition process in South Africa as a whole. Racial hatred and wilful killings have to be stopped. The speedy trial and conviction of two individuals for the murder of Mr. Chris Hani was a positive signal. We urge all parties to refrain from acts which could incite violence and to do their utmost to combat all forms of violence.

The coming months will be decisive for the future of South Africa. They could ring in true democracy and a South Africa at peace with itself, or they could become a period of intensified violence as some groups use all means at their disposal to derail the process of peaceful transition to a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa at the very last moment. We trust that the South African voter will give a clear response to this choice.

The Nobel Peace Prize awarded jointly to President De Klerk and President Mandela symbolizes the turn of the tide from the oppressive system of apartheid to cooperation in democracy. As a Member State, Austria is proud of the contribution of the United Nations to this struggle for human dignity, human rights and democratic values over the decades.

We look forward to next year's session of the General Assembly with the participation of a delegation from a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa and without a debate on the question of apartheid in South Africa. In the meantime, we will spare no effort to make sure that the promise of the future becomes reality. As Nelson Mandela said in Oslo, "Let a new age be born!"

Mr. GELBER (United States of America): This year's debate comes at a historic moment in South Africa. Over 300 years of exclusive white political domination ended earlier this month when the multi-racial Transitional Executive Council began oversight of key Government activities.

This has been a year marked by dramatic developments, developments that seemed improbable just a short time ago. The stalemate and recrimination of the past have given way to a new spirit of progress and hope for the future. That South Africa today is poised on the brink of non-racial democracy is great testimony to the courage and perseverance of the South African people and their leaders.

This year has seen both triumph and tragedy for South Africa. Multi-party talks, which resumed in April,

culminated recently with agreements on a transitional Constitution, a Bill of rights and other foundation stones of South Africa's transition to non-racial democracy. All South Africans can be proud of these achievements. In the face of considerable violence and challenges from those determined to undercut the democratic process, South African leaders pressed onward with negotiations and reached agreement on a political system that provides rights for all citizens, regardless of race, colour or gender.

In July the negotiators set South Africa's first non-racial elections for next April. Election preparations and campaigning are now under way. We call on all parties which have not yet chosen to participate to join the process. Participation will ensure a voice in the formation of South Africa's final constitution and political future. We have made clear our expectation that all parties will honour those negotiated agreements reached in the pre-election period. We will support the new South Africa in that context.

Consolidation of South Africa's democratic transformation will demand economic growth. Our support for South Africa's economic recovery is unequivocal. In September President Clinton called on American state and local Governments to repeal their economic sanctions. The response has been overwhelming. Over half have already lifted their sanctions; others will do so soon. Last month the President signed legislation enabling my Government to broaden further its support for South Africa's political and economic transition. Commerce Secretary Brown's recent trade and investment mission to South Africa is evidence of our commitment to support the transition.

These positive developments notwithstanding, tragedy struck the lives of many South Africans this year. Over 3,000 South Africans have died in criminal and political violence. The murder of African National Congress leader Chris Hani drives home the vulnerability of all South Africans to violence. We Americans also mourn the loss of one of our own to the ravages of violence in South Africa. Amy Biehl, an American Fulbright student, was brutally murdered in a township near Cape Town.

We and the international community call on all South Africans to set aside partisan differences and work together to rein in the violence. An atmosphere of fear and mistrust is contrary to the spirit of reconciliation needed for free and fair elections next April, a goal that both Chris Hani and Amy Biehl supported.

We are pleased that all South Africans have welcomed the important role played by the United Nations in South Africa. I would particularly note the important impact that the United Nations peace observers in South Africa have had. These United Nations observers, in concert with observers from the European Union, the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth, have averted many violent incidents, thus contributing to peace in South Africa. We call on the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) to approve, with urgency, funding for an additional 50 peace observers.

We look forward to even greater United Nations participation in South Africa's transition as the election process advances. We will support the United Nations in providing a sufficient number of observers to monitor the electoral process and to help ensure that the elections are held in as free and fair an atmosphere as possible.

I should like to call particular attention to the key role played by the Special Committee against Apartheid and its Chairman, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria. Under his stewardship, the Special Committee has promoted the positive climate that enabled the General Assembly to adopt by consensus this year's omnibus resolution. As in the past, Ambassador Gambari's even-handed, no-nonsense approach has been instrumental in developing a unified international view on developments in South Africa. As South Africa finally sheds its racist past and becomes a full-fledged non-racial democracy, we look forward to joining Ambassador Gambari next year in marking the end of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

This is truly a defining moment in South African history. With next April's elections, South Africa will take another step in the long march towards non-racial democracy. The United States joins the international community in celebrating that achievement.

Together we must now look to the future. A new agenda beckons. Having accomplished what we celebrate today, let us dedicate ourselves to what will define our tomorrows.

Mrs. des ILES (Trinidad and Tobago): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 members of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) that are Members of the United Nations: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, Belize, the Commonwealth of Dominica, Grenada, the Republic of Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and my own country, the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

In 1948, when the General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which represented a milestone in the international community's pursuit of

fundamental freedoms and human dignity for all, the South African authorities of the day did not support the adoption of the text. Doubt was expressed by the then-representative of South Africa as to the

> "wisdom of a declaration which would be honoured in the breach rather than in the observance of its provisions". *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Third Session, Plenary Meetings, 182nd meeting, p. 910)*

The history of apartheid rule in South Africa in the ensuing decades did, indeed, reflect a total rejection of the spirit and letter of the Universal Declaration.

Today, 45 years after the adoption of the Declaration, South Africa is embarking upon a new journey, one filled with high expectations and the promise of a better life, albeit tempered by some anxiety for the future. With agreement reached on the interim constitution, which provides a framework for the country's transition to a united, democratic and non-racial State, current and future leaders of South Africa are bound by the very principles of the Universal Declaration that have been recently incorporated into their laws and that must now serve as an indispensable tool of governance.

The 12 members of CARICOM welcome the steady progress in the transition process in South Africa, including the historic inauguration of the Transitional Executive Council on 7 December 1993. This Executive Council, the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority all require the total support and cooperation of the governmental authorities, major political actors and the population at large if they are to be effective in providing fairness and equality of opportunity in the electoral process. We urge all concerned to lend their support and cooperation in the interests of peace and stability, and we encourage those who are not yet participating in the current stage of the transition process to enter the fold and to participate fully in the country's first non-racial elections, scheduled for 27 April 1994.

Acts of terrorism by organized political groups and entities, which are accompanied by the threat of possible secession from South Africa, could well destroy the civil and democratic society that most South Africans are striving to build. CARICOM States therefore support the call in draft resolution A/48/L.29 for the South African authorities to bring the perpetrators of acts of violence to justice. We also support the call for all parties and other entities to contribute towards the achievement of the aims of the 1991 National Peace Accord and for measures to be taken in pursuit of the peaceful reincorporation of the so-called homelands into South Africa.

The issue of violence remains one of critical importance to the success of the transition process. This point is not lost on those intent upon reversing the successes already achieved. Reports of the Human Rights Commission of South Africa have documented the correlation between progress in the multi-party negotiating process and an increase in incidents of violence. Regrettably, more than 600 persons were killed in the month of July 1993, following the announcement of a date for non-racial general elections, compared with a monthly average of 231 deaths during the first six months of 1993. The tragic assassination of Chris Hani of the African National Congress in April 1993 can also be seen in this light.

The reliability and trustworthiness of those entrusted to uphold the law are of the greatest importance to the political climate and to the effectiveness of the mechanisms established by the National Peace Accord and the transitional bodies approved by the Multi-party Negotiating Process. In this respect, reports of recent incidents involving police and security forces, including the August 1993 report of the distribution by the South African Defence Force of sophisticated assault weapons to white farmers, are cause for grave concern.

Furthermore, as documented in the 1993 preliminary report of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on southern Africa, other human rights abuses also persist. According to the report, from January to June 1993 there were 25 deaths of persons in police custody; 90 political trials were completed during that period, with 81 still in progress by 31 July 1993; and 49 persons were identified as political prisoners who qualify for release, on the basis of criteria utilized by the Joint Scrutiny Committee established in 1992.

Given the seriousness of the incidents described in the current report (A/48/22) of the Special Committee against Apartheid concerning the police and security forces, and in view of the high level of violence, including violence of a political and economic nature, and the current human rights situation in the country, it is regrettable that the South African authorities have repeatedly rejected requests by the Ad Hoc Working Group of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to visit the country. We urge the South African authorities to take full advantage of the technical assistance and advisory services provided to States by bodies within the United Nations system in the protection and promotion of human rights. In this regard, it is noted that within the framework of the programme of

action for the proposed third decade to combat racism and racial discrimination, technical assistance for South Africa is contemplated during and after the transition period, through the United Nations Centre for Human Rights.

In recognition of the important strides made in the political process towards a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa, the worldwide anti-apartheid struggle has shifted its focus to assisting the majority population in its preparation for the impending electoral process and for life in a democratic, non-racial society. Greater attention is also being placed on addressing the critical social and economic problems confronting the nation. In this regard, the grim statistics provided in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid hint at the magnitude of the problem to be addressed. Quoting various sources, the Special Committee reports that 90 per cent of black South Africans are living below the poverty line; 46 per cent of the labour force is either unemployed or involved in the informal sector; whites in South Africa are entitled to more than double the per capita health-care expenditure; 15 to 20 per cent of blacks have electricity in their homes; and approximately 1.5 million South African families are homeless.

The States members of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) applaud the efforts already under way throughout the United Nations system to assist in the tackling of some of these formidable challenges. The international community has a crucial complementary role to play in the transformation of South African society. In this regard, a constructive contribution continues to be made by the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA), in cooperation with observers from the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Union and the relevant South African structures.

The States members of the Caribbean Community fully support recent proposals by the Secretary-General to upgrade, strengthen and expand UNOMSA, including the proposed creation of a temporary post at the Assistant Secretary-General level for the Chief of Mission, and we urge all Member States also to lend their support.

With the recent termination of the oil embargo against South Africa, all economic sanctions against that country have now been lifted. The States members of the Caribbean Community take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, as well as to the relevant non-governmental organizations in this field, whose work in support of the international oil boycott was indispensable. Meanwhile, CARICOM States will continue to abide by the military sanctions until they are lifted by the Security Council.

CARICOM States welcome the decision on the multi-party negotiating forum to restore Walvis Bay to Namibia. This decision will undoubtedly lay the foundations for peace, mutual confidence and good relations between the two States, and should redound to the benefit of all in the region.

Over the years, the States of the Caribbean Community have supported steadfastly and have contributed to the best of their ability to, the international campaign against apartheid in South Africa. We now rejoice in the remarkable progress achieved in furtherance of the long-standing objectives of freedom, justice and equality in that nation. Today, the fragile process of the transition to democracy is under way. To the courageous South Africans who are truly committed to this process we wish every success. For our part, we shall continue, through the various intergovernmental institutions of which we are members, to support them in the pursuit of their noble goals.

Mr. THANARAJASINGAM (Malaysia): The irreversible process towards the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is without doubt one of the most positive and welcome developments in the post-cold-war era. The international community, including the United Nations, can take pride and satisfaction in the vital role it has played in this process.

The statement of the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, here on 24 September aptly captured this historic development. In calling on the international community to lift all economic sanctions against South Africa, Mr. Mandela recalled succinctly the anti-apartheid struggle. As he stated,

> "In the end, there was nobody of conscience who could stand by and do nothing in the search for an end to the apartheid crime against humanity".

The common and unwavering stand of the international community against apartheid complemented the valiant struggle of the victims of apartheid. In this connection, the sanctions imposed by the international community were in fact instrumental in the successful collective efforts designed to eliminate apartheid.

The perseverance and commitment of the international community in support of the struggle have been vindicated as evidenced in recent developments; and today South Africa is at the threshold of fundamental change.

Malaysia was one of the prime movers in expelling South Africa from the Commonwealth, in accordance with

our deep aversion to and abhorrence of apartheid. As a member of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, we have actively worked within the United Nations in contributing towards the anti-apartheid and what was then majority-rule struggle. Malaysia welcomes the positive developments towards the dismantling of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Malaysia stands ready to work closely with the leaders of the newly emerging democratic South Africa, in tandem with the tangible efforts towards a non-racial, democratic Government.

Last week, the General Assembly had the opportunity to be formally informed by you, Mr. President, that the Transitional Executive Council in South Africa had become operational and that consequently the embargo related to the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa and investment in the petroleum industry had been lifted. The next significant step clearly involves the holding of elections, scheduled for April 1994, less than five months away.

Much remains to be done within the next five months. There is a pre-eminent need to safeguard the current process so as to ensure that a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa emerges from it. In this regard, it is important that all parties be involved and committed to this process. Malaysia appeals to those who have stayed away to join the current process and to work peacefully towards the common goal of a new and united South Africa. There is a need to put an end to violence which would otherwise jeopardize the progress made to date. There are enough lessons, from both current and past tragedies, to help deter the relapse into violence and destruction.

We recognize the difficulties that prevailing circumstances in the country put in the way of a free and fair election. Undoubtedly, a sizeable international observer presence is indispensable if confidence in the process is to be assured and the people of South Africa allowed to cast their votes.

Like other delegations, we give our full support to the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid. We agree that the United Nations needs to begin immediately an examination of the requirements as to the functions and capabilities of international electoral monitors in South Africa. Consideration should be given to the fact that if the election process as a whole is to be monitored effectively, deployment will need to begin several months in advance of the actual elections. Effective coordination with the independent Electoral Commission, with the National Peace Accord structures and with international observers who are already deployed will be essential.

At the recent Commonwealth Summit in Cyprus, it was recognized that the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa (COMSA) -which has been in the country since October 1992 - had made an important and widely acknowledged contribution in the process of stemming the violence, reconciling communities, securing the return of refugees and initiating socio-economic reconstruction. The Commonwealth Heads of Government commended the work of the Mission and agreed that it should remain in South Africa until the election planned for April 1994 had been held, when the situation would be reviewed in consultation with the new, democratically elected Government.

On the same occasion the Heads of Government welcomed the decision taken jointly by the United Nations and the Commonwealth, in consultation with other donor agencies, on the convening of an international donors' conference on human resource development for post-apartheid South Africa following the establishment of an interim government of national unity. They regarded such a conference as an important forum for reviewing the human-resource-development needs of post-apartheid South Africa and as a means of securing improved coordination among donors. They stressed the need, in the context of a viable non-racial democracy, to redress the skills imbalances inherited from apartheid. Accordingly, they called on all Governments and donor agencies to support the initiative. These and other initiatives are necessary to the underpinning of the peaceful transition towards a new South Africa.

The leaders of South Africa have repeatedly underscored the need for the United Nations not only to remove sanctions but also to remain seized of the issue of South Africa. Malaysia supports this position. After all, the question of apartheid and democratic rule in South Africa has been on the United Nations agenda since the very inception of the Organization.

The international community may continue to do all it can to help to contain the violence and to advance the process of transition, but only South Africa's leaders and people, working together in a spirit of national reconciliation, can ensure lasting peace and progress. We join others in calling on all parties to contribute constructively to the transition process.

Malaysia has not only spoken out against apartheid but also continued, within its means, to help the victims of apartheid. In addition, Malaysia has encouraged economic and trade relations with South Africa, with the private

sector playing a major role. Malaysia will continue to play an active and positive role, both bilaterally and through the multilateral process - particularly through the United Nations and the Commonwealth - in attaining the goal of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We look forward to welcoming South Africa fully into the ranks of the international community by the time of the next General Assembly session.

Mr. NOTERDAEME (Belgium) *(interpretation from French)*: I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the European Union.

When the situation in South Africa was being debated by the General Assembly at this time last year, the general mood was one of gloom. However, by the beginning of this year great progress had been made towards the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa. But the violence continued, and the negotiations slowed down.

We must pay a tribute to the South African parties, which, throughout the process of democratic transition in their country, did not lose hope, despite incidents and crises. On the contrary, they derived from the situation new energy and a sense of urgency, which facilitated the success of the negotiations.

What a distance has been travelled since the beginning of the year. Following preparatory meetings in March, the Multi-Partite Negotiating Process, involving 26 parties, was initiated on 1 April. Never until then had such representative political discussions been held in South Africa. This resumption of negotiations, within a new framework, was a decisive breakthrough. Indeed, on 2 July it was decided in the Negotiating Process that the first non-racial and democratic elections in South Africa would be held on 27 April 1994.

On 23 September the South African Parliament approved the principle of a Transitional Executive Council and three independent Commissions to prepare the political ground and ensure that the election of 27 April would be held in conditions of impartiality. The scope of the two decisions was widely acknowledged - especially by Mr. Nelson Mandela, as was made clear in his statement to the Special Committee against Apartheid, and by the General Assembly, which, following Mr. Mandela's statement, decided unanimously to lift the economic sanctions it has imposed against South Africa.

In recognition of their political courage and of the road that they had travelled, but also as an encouragement, President De Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, which was presented in Oslo. The recipients have not dashed the hopes that were thus placed in them: the Negotiating Process resulted, on 17 November, in an agreement, which we can describe only as historic, on an interim constitution, which finally paved the way to the establishment, on 7 December, of the Transitional Executive Council and to the decision to hold elections on 27 April next.

For the first time in the history of South Africa, the black majority now has an effective involvement in the management of public affairs. For the first time, the South African people will be able, through their votes, to speak out freely and without distinction as to race or colour.

The European Union warmly welcomes the positive conclusion of the Multi-Party Negotiating Process, which is a crucial stage in the peaceful transformation of South Africa into a truly democratic society.

If, as Mr. Nelson Mandela has said, the countdown in South Africa has begun, we must not delude ourselves into believing that the last stage will not be difficult and full of obstacles.

Mr. Nyakyi (United Republic of Tanzania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

First, some parties did not take part in the entire negotiation process. The European Union urges them to continue their negotiations with the signatories of the Kempton Park agreement, and to join the Transitional Executive Council and fully respect its rules and objectives. We also urge them to take part in the elections, because all South Africans must use the voting booth to express their opinions about the future of their country.

Secondly, it is imperative to put an end to the violence that is tearing the country apart. The whole world was shocked by the assassination of Chris Hani, while he was advocating a return to peace. But let us also give a particular place in our thoughts to the thousands of unknown victims of the violence. Although they are anonymous, their fate is no less tragic.

The gravity and the scope of this phenomenon of violence could prejudice the achievements of Kempton Park. This is why the Secretary-General's recommendation to increase the number of personnel in the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa (UNOMSA) must be implemented immediately. The European Union has sent to that country a mission - the European Community Observer Mission to South Africa (ECOMSA) - which, in close cooperation with the structures set up by the National

Peace Accord and in coordination with UNOMSA and other international missions, is striving to reduce the violence in South Africa. In addition, European experts are cooperating with Justice Goldstone and his Commission, whose contribution in the fight against violence we welcome.

If there is one lesson that the many peace-keeping operations organized by the United Nations have taught us, it is that in conflict situations the international community cannot take the place of the populations or peoples concerned. No matter how important, international assistance can only be a complement to the political will of those concerned to overcome their rivalries. That is why the European Union is addressing a solemn and urgent appeal to all the parties to do everything in their power to put an end to the violence, especially by strictly adhering to the provisions of the National Peace Accord.

It is important that the elections of 27 April next be a true success. Once again, the primary responsibility rests with the South African people themselves. The European Union therefore urges them to reaffirm their devotion to democratic principles, especially by ensuring that all the agreements reached within the framework of the negotiating process are respected; by settling the outstanding differences through peaceful means; by guaranteeing, during the electoral campaign, freedom for political activity and rejecting any attempt at intimidation; and by respecting the result of free and fair elections and continuing to work for the advent of a democratic culture after the elections.

But, no matter how paradoxical this may seem, it will not be enough for the elections to be free and fair: they must also be seen to be so by everyone. It is in this area that the international community will have a key role to play. We welcome the dispatch of a preparatory United Nations mission to South Africa, in accordance with the request of the Transitional Executive Council for observers of the elections.

The European Union was fully aware of the importance of the electoral process and of observing it, since it decided to make this the object of one of its first common actions. To give further support to the evolution towards democracy and majority government in the country, the European Union has set up a coordinated assistance programme for the preparation and observation of elections. This assistance will consist of giving advice, technical aid and training as well as continued support for the education of the voters, and supplying a large number of European observers within the framework of a comprehensive international effort, which should be coordinated by the United Nations. In this connection, the European Union has already established a "European electoral unit". In addition, a 5-million-Ecu voter-education programme has been approved and is already in operation. Furthermore, the European Union will continue to normalize its relations with South Africa. This is another way of supporting the evolution towards democracy in that country.

The European Union recognizes that South Africa's transition towards democracy must be strengthened by economic reconstruction and development. The European Union reiterates that it is prepared to contribute in an appropriate manner. To this end, it has set up a special programme, which is one of the largest development actions ever launched in this field. The budget of that programme for 1993 alone totals 90 million Ecus. Its main spheres of action are education and training, health, rural development and agriculture, urban renewal, the effective management of public affairs, and democratization. Finally, the European Union has launched a new project, costing more than 13 million Ecus, for housing improvements.

This is the last time, we are convinced, that the Assembly will debate the evolution of South Africa towards a democratic society, and I should therefore like to conclude by placing the elections of 27 April next in a wider framework. These elections will obviously be pivotal above all for the South African people, but they will also have an influence on the whole of southern Africa. We must hope that a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa will have privileged relations with its neighbours, for the greater development of the whole region. Finally, a successful election will be an encouraging sign for the whole of Africa, which will be strengthened in its choice of pluralism and democracy.

Such are the stakes of 27 April. The European Union is prepared to contribute to its success.

Mr. ALVAREZ (Uruguay) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The last time the delegation of Uruguay spoke in this body on the item on the elimination of apartheid, the international climate was characterized by confrontation and disarray. This worldwide polarization had an impact also on the domestic politics of South Africa, and it was a negative impact.

Today, however, we see that the profound changes we so vigorously demanded are about to take shape. All the newspapers of the world have recently featured the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to President De Klerk and President Mandela. Our delegation congratulates both leaders: one, for having had the civic courage to accept the historical imperative of putting an end to the disgraced

regime and leading his Government, through peaceful negotiations, to the establishment of a democratic State subject to the rule of law; and the other, for having borne more than two decades of unjust imprisonment and yet having made a magnanimous gesture, understanding that peaceful negotiations were the only way to guarantee the creation of a government in which proportional representation would be the rule and in which the constitution and the law would constitute guarantees for the majorities that governed and the minorities that also represented large sectors of society.

The recently adopted constitutional guidelines are an appropriate framework; their adoption resulted from compromise by the parties. They carefully balanced the need for majority rule with adequate safeguards for political minorities - fortunately, we no longer need speak of minorities in the ethnic sense. We consider that these safeguards give local governments significant authority, and we urge the local political institutions and authorities and the leaders of the various groupings to give firm support to a constitution that will also contain a declaration of human rights equal to any in the world.

The international community, and the United Nations in particular, have specific obligations in this entire process. Let me mention some of them. The lifting of sanctions by resolution 48/1 must be followed by a carefully planned process of economic cooperation with the new Government of South Africa once it has been constituted. To that end, United Nations bodies committed to the fight against apartheid must start focusing on economic problems and coordinating the necessary international cooperation.

We must ensure that the April elections are an exemplary civic act; electoral assistance from the United Nations will be essential to guarantee the conduct of the elections, on the model of the elections held in Namibia and in Cambodia, two of the most successful United Nations operations ever. My delegation pledges to help the United Nations in this respect.

We wish to convey our profound appreciation to the various components of the United Nations system that have done such excellent work to support the struggle against apartheid. I must make special mention of the Centre against Apartheid, the Centre for Human Rights, the Department of Public Information, the Special Committee against Apartheid and all the bodies that function within the framework of treaties related to human rights, such as the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the Commission against Apartheid in Sports.

We wish also to highlight the very effective leadership of the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid by its Chairman, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari. There is no doubt that the Special Committee's activities must now focus on the completion of the transition process. We must seize every opportunity to bring about cooperation among the various political and social sectors in South Africa in close cooperation with the recently created Transitional Executive Council. The international community's determined support for that Council will make it clear that the process is irreversible.

In past years, the atmosphere of the debate on this item was different; statements were marked by the violence and the intolerance and even by despair. But things seem different today. This reminds me of a story by the South African writer Bessie Head, the story of an African who committed the sin of falling in love with a woman of another tribe, traditionally the mortal enemy of his own. But when the marriage was about to be consummated,

> "a door opened silently upon a dark, airless room, where their souls had long been confined. The winds of freedom, which had been blowing throughout the world, for all peoples, entered the room and swept through it. As the couple breathed the clear, fresh air, their humanity was awakened. They took stock of their situation, and ran out into the sunlight. Then they turned and looked back at the small, dark room, and said, 'We shall never return there.'".

Mr. WISNUMURTI (Indonesia): The Assembly is considering the question of apartheid at a time of extraordinary developments envisioning the transition of South Africa from apartheid to non-racial democracy. After a 10-month-long stalemate, the resumption of negotiations last March among a broad spectrum of political parties heightened our expectations that their leaders will persevere in the endeavours to reach an agreement on the principles and modalities that will govern the country during the transition period. It is therefore gratifying to note that after a process of sustained dialogue, the Multi-Party Negotiating Council has reached an accord that will lead South Africa in the not-too-distant future towards majority rule.

For the first time, political rights will be extended to South Africans of all races and creeds, who make up the mosaic of that nation. Of particular importance in this regard is the extension of the right to vote to the disenfranchised majority, opening the way for formal role for them in running the affairs of their country and in determining its future. It balances majority rule with adequate safeguards for minority rights and thereby offers

protection to all South African citizens. It abandons the fiction of the "homelands" created by the Pretoria regime. The reincorporation of these "homelands" is now an essential prerequisite for the emergence of an undivided South Africa.

It seeks to accommodate regional diversity and heterogeneity, and it foresees the establishment of a multi-racial, multi-party transition regime to oversee preparations for the new democratic order until next spring, when an elected parliament will give final form to the new constitutional system. Thus, the interim accord is a truly remarkable and forward-looking achievement which promises to bring fundamental and profound change to South Africa.

We are therefore heartened to see that South Africa has finally begun the arduous path of breaking away from institutionalized discrimination and moving towards an egalitarian society. From repealing the pass laws and the influx control regulations to abolishing discriminatory laws and releasing political prisoners, from the lifting of economic sanctions to a possible termination of the oil embargo, South Africa has come a long way from its international isolation. It is in many ways a fitting tribute to the realism, statesmanship and spirit of compromise shown by the leaders of South Africa in rising above their past differences and seeking an amicable political settlement. We remain hopeful that they will preserve the gains achieved so far and move towards a new constitutional and political order.

In this context, my delegation would like to commend Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. F. W. de Klerk for their determination and untiring efforts in bringing political change, for which they richly deserved the Nobel Peace Prize.

While these developments augur well for an orderly end to minority rule, the situation in South Africa continues to be fragile and hence fraught with unforeseen potential consequences. We are acutely conscious of the challenges posed to peaceful transition by extremist and reactionary forces, which threaten to disrupt and derail the ongoing peace process. It is, moreover, regrettable to note that rampant violence in the townships has continued unabated and is being exploited by those who are bent upon fomenting unrest in the country. Such desperate attempts to perpetuate an apartheid system that has already claimed countless lives and trampled on majority rights must not be allowed to succeed. The reservations of "homeland" leaders concerning reunion with South Africa constitute yet another destabilizing factor.

A heavy responsibility therefore rests on the Government of South Africa in ensuring not only the maintenance of law and order but also the reintegration of the homelands into South Africa.

My delegation is also deeply disturbed to note the continuing differences among the political parties concerning the constitutional principles and other issues that should govern post-apartheid South Africa. However, at this critical stage in the struggle against apartheid the dedicated efforts of all the leaders of that country would be even more essential in maintaining the unity and commonality of interests of the liberation movements and democratic forces in order to move decisively and quickly in overcoming the remaining obstacles on the way to a unified society. Any reversal of the ongoing process of a negotiated settlement would have profoundly negative repercussions not only for South Africa but for the rest of the continent of Africa and beyond. Hence, there can be no turning back in the peace process.

As the era of apartheid draws to a close, it is pertinent to recall that Indonesia has long been in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid. The historic Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in 1955 was the first international gathering to accord recognition to the liberation movements in South Africa. In subsequent years Indonesia has strongly condemned the racist regime's acts of discrimination and repression, supported the call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions and underscored its unswerving unity and solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

The Non-Aligned Movement, since its inception, has also called for the dismantling of institutionalized racism and denounced apartheid. We are proud of the contributions made by the Movement and gratified at the prospects for an early end to apartheid.

Despite the obstacles yet to be overcome, a historic compromise has been reached that should constitute the beginnings of an irreversible process of dismantling apartheid. It is equally important to ensure that socio-economic inequities will not undermine the dynamics of political change during the transition period and beyond. We remain confident that progress on constitutional and political issues will be reflected in the economic domain as well and that the process of democratization will be accompanied by concerted efforts to ameliorate the most urgent needs of the majority.

For more than four decades the United Nations has been seized of the question of human dignity and human rights in South Africa. Undeniably, the consideration of this item has made an invaluable contribution to mobilizing

world public opinion for the cause of justice and equality. It was this forum that also set the guiding principles for the elimination of apartheid that will ultimately lead to the establishment of a united, non-racial South Africa. At this crucial juncture the Organization should reaffirm its strong support for the ongoing peace process and thereby expedite the democratic transformation in South Africa. We remain convinced that reconciliation and democratization will prevail and that political, economic and social justice for the people of South Africa will become a reality.

Mr. van BOHEMEN (New Zealand): New Zealand notes with much satisfaction that the Multi-Party Negotiating Process in South Africa has made major progress over the past year. All participants in that process deserve congratulations on their achievements and encouragement and support from the international community in the long and difficult tasks that lie ahead. Mr. Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk, the Nobel Peace Prize laureates, deserve particular praise for the roles they have played as individuals in the process.

This Organization has been unequivocal in its condemnation of apartheid in all its manifestations. Now it can stand ready to welcome South Africa back fully into the fellowship of nations, the task of eradicating formal apartheid virtually accomplished.

The statutory bases of apartheid have gone, but after more than three centuries of a political culture whose tradition could not, or would not, accommodate democratic multi-racialism, we are conscious that South Africa's transformation will not be accomplished without further effort and further sacrifice. We must consider how best this Organization can assist in the creation of the new South Africa. We must now develop new approaches to meet a new situation that will realize our hope for a non-racial and democratic future for South Africa.

A development of decisive importance this year was the agreement by the negotiating parties that 27 April 1994 will be the date for the Republic's first-ever democratic, nationwide elections. Another was the approval in the South African Parliament in September of this year of the Transitional Executive Council Bill. New Zealand believes that those developments establish irreversible and positive social and political change in South Africa. They herald the ultimate elimination of apartheid.

We are convinced, however, that time is still of the essence. There is urgency in the task of finding new approaches to assist the process. The living conditions of South Africa's underprivileged majority have improved little since the bankruptcy of apartheid - socially, politically and economically - was acknowledged by the privileged minority. The black majority remains severely disadvantaged in such crucial areas as housing, health and education. The dispossessed remain dispossessed. Unemployment is rife. Legitimate expectations are not being met.

Moreover, the political process has suffered damage from the withdrawal of a number of important parties from the negotiations. Residual opposition to democratic change on the part of a minority of right-wing extremists is another consequence of the legacy of apartheid. Positive social and political change is irreversible, but it is in a fragile condition at this time. We urge all South Africans to put the good of the country as a whole ahead of sectional interests.

We must also note the escalation in political violence. Those who would exploit for narrow and unachievable ends the propensity for violence in a population so needful of relief from its suffering must think again and accept the inevitability of change. In this regard New Zealand continues to give full support to Security Council resolution 772 (1992) of 14 August 1992 and the subsequent deployments of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa, along with Missions of the Commonwealth and other international organizations. We have actively participated in Commonwealth missions and are considering a further contribution. Indeed, it is clear that in the lead-up to the elections next April the problem of violence will require special attention. Again, we would state our view that it is incumbent upon all parties in South Africa, now more than ever, to exercise restraint and to abide by the terms of the National Peace Accord of September 1991.

With regard to the election process, New Zealand is well aware that major and urgent efforts must be made to ensure the practical political enfranchisement of South Africa's black majority. Effective programmes in voter registration and education are needed. We are ready to support the United Nations, as well as the Commonwealth and other international organizations, in such efforts.

All this touches on the question of new approaches to the situation developing in South Africa. The sanctions process has now almost run its successful course. With the coming into operation last week of the Transitional Executive Council, the embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products authorized by the Assembly has come to an end. New Zealand has been a member of the Intergovernmental Group that has monitored the embargo since its inception. We are pleased that its work has been brought to a successful conclusion.

In lifting these economic measures, New Zealand and other Commonwealth Governments endorsed appeals by President De Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela for foreign investment in, and increased trade with, South Africa. We believe that new commercial links will assist in overcoming the social and economic legacy of apartheid.

Similarly, the unification of sport in South Africa should become a vehicle, in its own right, of national unity. New Zealand continues to follow the Commonwealth approach to sporting contacts with South Africa, which, in the case of the still large number of sporting bodies yet to be fully cleared for international competition, relies on the interim approval of the non-racial governing bodies of sport in South Africa. We urge the administrators and participants in all South African sporting bodies to complete the process of racial unification promptly and with due attention to the interests of so many South Africans hitherto disadvantaged by apartheid in their chosen sports. We look with much hope to the impetus that will be provided in this regard by the new government of national unity following the elections next April.

In the immediate future, New Zealand will consider ways of increasing educational assistance to black South Africans, ways that focus on the Republic's immediate administrative and developmental needs. Since 1988 we have provided Nelson Mandela scholarships. Initially, these were largely confined to long-term academic courses. Now we shall look also at shorter-term practical skills development and training assistance in South Africa, as well as in New Zealand. In the Commonwealth setting we support the priority given by the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation to its programme of development activities designed to strengthen National Peace Accord structures. This approach places emphasis on technical assistance and training that will promote improved police-community relations in support of the new institutions intended to facilitate the transition to non-racial democracy.

This Organization and the international community at large have a duty to assist in building a new, united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Ultimately, however, only South Africa's leaders, working with each other and putting aside past differences, can bury once and for all the legacy of apartheid. New Zealand believes, despite the fragility of the present situation, that there now exist in South Africa the political will, the good sense and the courage required to achieve the transformation. We hope soon to welcome South Africa at last to its proper place in the community of nations. We wish all South Africans well in this crucial endeavour.

Mrs. JAGAN (Guyana): The representative of Trinidad and Tobago has spoken on behalf of the 12 member countries of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), and Guyana entirely associates itself with her statement. However, given Guyana's special role heretofore in the struggle and the utmost importance we have always attached to the question of apartheid, we considered it opposite to add our own national dimension to the debate.

At the political level, since the 1950s, the present governing party has given positive and consistent support to the anti-apartheid struggles of the African National Congress. Furthermore, for almost two decades Guyana maintained a presence in the southern African subregion, on the very front line of the struggle. Staff there were not always entirely immune to the consequences of aggressive activity designed to perpetuate apartheid.

The Guyana Government, too, saw fit to make its own small contribution to the struggle by offering academic training to future black leaders at our local institutions of learning by cementing relationships with liberation movements, by making financial contributions and by generally offering moral support. Guyana has also been a member of a select group of countries mandated to keep the question of apartheid under constant surveillance or scrutiny. In addition, non-governmental organizations in Guyana have given support locally and at conferences called by the relevant United Nations committees.

We feel great pride as South Africa enters the home stretch on the way to majority rule. The pillars of apartheid and other trappings of the iniquitous system are all being removed. The Multi-party Negotiating Process in South Africa has been completed. Agreement has been reached on an interim constitution and an electoral bill. Elections are scheduled to be held on 27 April 1994. New vistas are before us, with the imminent integration of South Africa with the rest of Africa and, indeed, with the wider international community.

Regrettably, the ugly spectre of violence still haunts the political scene. Amnesty International, in its chilling publication entitled "Getting away with Murder: Political Killings and 'Disappearances' in the 1990s", records that

> "since 1990, when the process began, some 10,000 South Africans have been killed as a consequence of the actions of the security forces or, more frequently, as a consequence of the actions of armed groups acting with their acquiescence".

The report lays the blame for the deaths at the feet of the central command structure; hence the significance of my

Government's public call, most recently on the occasion of Chris Hani's assassination, for President De Klerk and the Government of South Africa to take steps to deter those forces, which appeared

> "bent on undermining the peace process and keeping alive the system of apartheid".

It is regrettable, too, that some groups have removed themselves from current political developments. Guyana is entirely supportive of the Security Council's urging

> "all parties in South Africa, including those which did not participate fully in the multi-party talks, to respect agreements reached during the negotiations, to re-commit themselves to democratic principles, to take part in the elections and to resolve outstanding issues by peaceful means only". *(S/26785)*

We are pleased to see the foregoing reflected in operative paragraph 10 of draft resolution A/48/L.29, and we underscore the fact that the Security Council and the General Assembly are united in their desire to see South Africa through to its desired and just objective. The international community could have desired no less on an issue that so inflamed public opinion and topped the agendas of many bodies, including the Commonwealth, the Organization of African Unity, the European Union, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and CARICOM, to name a few.

Guyana unreservedly joins the calls for assistance in the academic and cultural fields, as stated in operative paragraph 14, and for assistance to non-racial sports bodies in operative paragraph 15 of draft resolution A/48/L.29, and offers assistance in these areas within the confines of our limited resources.

We fully support the call for vigilance even as the process enters its final phase. We are ever conscious that we must maintain our focus on the goal of the 27 April 1994 elections and the establishment of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. Hence the continued relevance of the Special Committee against Apartheid and our support for draft resolution A/48/L.30 on its programme of work.

Within the context of General Assembly resolution 48/1 of 8 October 1993 on the lifting of economic and trade sanctions against South Africa, Guyana, in compliance therewith, shall presently remove the legislative impediments to those types of activities.

Mr. CARDENAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is with joy and great expectations that we speak to the General Assembly on the question of the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. I say "joy" because everyone is well aware of the giant and irreversible strides that have been taken towards resolving a problem whose ethical dimension made it a central issue for the international community; and I say "great expectations" because, though much has been achieved, much remains to be done before we achieve the goal that has been set.

The progress I allude to has taken the form of concrete agreements and the implementation of machinery designed to guarantee a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. That progress has already been recognized by the international community, which has taken concrete action in response to it.

Towards the end of last year, the process of peaceful settlement of the question, it should be recalled, had bogged down, and it was only resumed in April of this year with the initiation of the Multi-party Negotiating Process. These negotiations, which brought together 26 political parties, were a landmark because of their degree of representativity and because the frequent acts of violence and intimidation which took place never led to their being interrupted. From these negotiations, there emerged several important agreements that will transform the history of South Africa.

Among other things, the first democratic and non-racial elections were agreed upon and scheduled for 27 April 1994. A provisional constitution and an electoral law were also agreed upon. At the same time, an agreement was reached to establish a Transitional Executive Council (TEC), charged with supervising preparations for a democratic system and the transition towards that system. It is of course a matter of regret that over the past few months certain important political parties have been suspended from participation in the Multi-party Negotiating Process. We sincerely hope that all the political forces in South Africa will work together and will refrain from creating situations that would in any way favour those who are still opposed to the ongoing process of democratization.

The subsequent enactment of these agreements into law by the acting Parliament, in addition to the Transitional Executive Council's assumption of its duties on 7 December, suggest that the goal pursued by the General Assembly no less than 37 years ago, when it began, with great concern, to consider the racial policies of South Africa, is now within the realm of possibility. Fresh and fervent hopes now seem well founded.

The international community has recognized and responded to all these achievements. Many of the restrictive measures which were imposed on South Africa have been progressively removed, in particular those regarding trade, sports and cultural activities. This trend was clearly recognized when the General Assembly adopted resolution 48/1 on 8 October last, which lifted all economic sanctions against South Africa immediately, with the exception of the oil embargo to be lifted on the date when the Transitional Executive Council assumed its duties for the transitional period. The arms embargo imposed by the Security Council is the only sanction which remains in effect.

International recognition of this process has also taken the form of the well-deserved 1993 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. Frederik de Klerk, the third Nobel Peace Prize to be awarded to those fighting against racial discrimination in South Africa. I would like to join in the congratulations which my Government has extended to the award winners. The people of Argentina feel that the award was fully justified, for it rewards the efforts, tenacity and remarkable intelligence that both men have demonstrated and continue to demonstrate in the search for a final political and institutional settlement for the great South African nation.

Notwithstanding the enthusiasm that the positive evolution of the peace process has produced, much more is still expected. Much remains to be done, as we have already said, and though the outlook is promising, no one can overlook the fact that those who are opposed to democracy in South Africa will miss no opportunity to obstruct the final outcome, which now seems inevitable. That is why the international community must not cease its efforts in support of the process and must continue to give it all necessary assistance.

We applaud the recent decision of the Security Council to invite the Secretary-General to accelerate the planning of the function of the United Nations in the electoral process. We also agree with the Security Council's decision to raise the total number of observers in the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) to 100, in order to strengthen security and stability in the country during the transitional period.

I would also like to point out that there has been close cooperation between UNOMSA and the observer missions of the Organization of African Unity, the European Community and the Commonwealth, as they carry out their mandates in South Africa.

At the same time, I would like to point out that the urgent economic and social situation in South Africa is also a source of major concern to us. There is no doubt that the situation can be successfully dealt with only by a responsible, representative and legitimate government.

My Government follows developments in South Africa with special interest because we are firmly committed to the eradication of apartheid, because we want to see South Africa become a full-fledged member of the international community and, finally, because we share with that country an important geographic space: the South Atlantic. The Republic of Argentina reiterates its commitment to help achieve our common objectives, particularly after 1 January 1994, when our country will become a member of the Security Council for a term of two years. As a member of the zone of peace and cooperation of the South Atlantic, the Republic of Argentina is convinced that the emergence of a new South Africa will make it possible speedily to bring the southern part of the African continent into the zone of peace and cooperation.

The ultimate responsibility for achieving success during this final stage of the process of democratization rests with the people of South Africa. Hence we hope that all the parties involved will abide strictly by the agreements entered into, that they will not stray from the democratic principles on which they are based and that they will participate in the coming elections and resolve pending matters by peaceful means. We also hope that very soon we shall be able to join the people and the leaders of South Africa in welcoming the successful transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial nation, thus overcoming a lengthy crisis the tremendous moral gravity of which had earned the condemnation of the international community.

For all those reasons, we are hopeful that South Africa will be able, in fairness and impartiality to overcome its long nightmare. With that hope, we renew our commitment.

Mr. CLAUDIO (Philippines): The countdown to democracy has begun in South Africa. The stage has been set for democracy with the recent completion of the Multi-party Negotiating Process. Despite the threats and boycotts, despite the terrible cycle of violence which afflicts the land and people, the tireless South African negotiators, both black and white, have laboured into the night, overcome serious obstacles and demonstrated to the world that it is possible for erstwhile adversaries with widely differing views and beliefs to reach landmark agreements through compromise, reasoned debate and negotiations.

The Philippines salutes the people of South Africa for finalizing a new transitional constitution, which signals that

indeed the South Africans are beginning to forge a new nation. Its adoption gives a clear direction to the destiny of the nation, emerging from the darkness of the odious apartheid system.

We are heartened that with the adoption of other important documents, such as the Electoral Bill, the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) has simultaneously commenced its work of overseeing the preparation for and transition to a democratic order in South Africa. We fully appreciate the necessary function of the TEC to level the political field and to oversee and ensure free and fair elections to the constituent assembly. In this regard, we cite the important role in the forthcoming national elections of the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority, which are products of the Multi-party Negotiating Process.

The Philippines therefore eagerly anticipates the exercise of the first universal suffrage in South Africa: the national elections on 27 April 1994. We share the exhilaration of the disenfranchised South Africans who have suffered from the viciousness of the apartheid system at casting their first vote and setting the course for the country's future. At the same time, we will remember that their liberation has been dearly paid for by thousands before them who have been killed and massacred because of the colour of their skin.

The Philippines is also extremely pleased by the decision to award the 1993 Nobel Prize for Peace to Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress (ANC) and President F. W. de Klerk of South Africa. It is indeed a well-deserved tribute to the two statesmen who had the vision and the determination to work towards the reconciliation of the South African peoples. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, Mr. Roberto R. Romulo, has stated that the momentous distinction bestowed upon the two leaders should serve as further inspiration for the people of the world to continue to support efforts at achieving a democratic and non-racial government in South Africa.

At this important juncture we urge all parties in South Africa, including those which did not participate fully in the multi-party talks, to respect the agreements reached during the difficult negotiations and to recommit themselves to democratic principles. We encourage them to participate in the elections and to resolve their differences through peaceful means. The Philippines is deeply concerned over the wave of violence engulfing South Africa. The comprehensive report of the Special Committee against Apartheid notes that

> "Violence, including political and economic crime, continued at unprecedented levels, taking a high toll in human lives and destruction of property, and spreading fear and anguish throughout the country." *(A/48/22, para. 45)*

In this regard we call again upon the signatories to the National Peace Accord to implement fully and effectively the provisions of the Accord and to refrain from further acts of violence.

In this connection the Philippines commends the work being done by the Secretary-General and the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) in assisting the process of democratic change in South Africa and in enhancing the capacity of South Africans to build for peace and political tolerance.

We urge the Secretary-General to accelerate the contingency planning for a possible United Nations role in the election process since we expect that the United Nations will be requested to render such assistance. We support the recommendation for an immediate expansion of the mandate and numbers of observers necessary to enable them to assume the role of international election monitors in South Africa in close coordination with the Independent Electoral Commission.

The Philippines is keenly aware of the enormous problems facing South Africa's transition to democracy. The socio-economic disparities in the society created by the apartheid system particularly in the areas of health, housing, education and human resource development must be addressed in a comprehensive manner. We therefore welcome the General Assembly's lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa in its resolution 48/1. For its part, the Philippines has taken the appropriate measures to lift the restrictions and prohibitions which the Philippine Government had earlier imposed on its economic relations with South Africa.

As a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Philippines remained steadfastly on the side of the oppressed and disenfranchised South Africans during the darkest days of the apartheid system. The Philippines stands ready to assist, encourage and cheer the South Africans in their noble quest to transform their society into a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

A new South Africa is beckoning. We call on all South Africans of all colours to respond to the challenge of the new future to work and heal together. As a reward, they will bequeath to their children and their children's children, peace, freedom, justice and equal opportunity for

all. They will finally bridge the bitter chasm that separated and divided them because of the colour of their skin.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 24 September 1993, I now call upon the Secretary-General of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

Mr. ALEXANDER (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)): Allow me at the outset, on behalf of the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Mr. Clarence Mlamli Makewetu, to thank the General Assembly for allowing us to address it during its debate on agenda item 38, "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa".

This occasion is very important because it may be the last time a political leader of a liberation movement from Azania, as our country was originally called, addresses the General Assembly. It is therefore meet that I thank the Assembly for remaining seized of the obnoxious and inhuman system of apartheid over the long years.

It was the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) that first brought the matter of the inhuman nature of apartheid to the attention of this world body, following the brutal murder of over 60 African people on 21 March 1960, when they peacefully marched in protest against the pass laws that controlled their lives, movement and access to jobs in their motherland. Following that appeal by the PAC, not only was racist South Africa deprived of its seat in this and other bodies, but apartheid was declared a crime against humanity. The United Nations decided to observe annually 21 March, commonly known as Sharpeville Day. We thank the Assembly for its regular commemoration of that Day.

On Sharpeville Day in 1960 the oppressed people in Azania lost their fear of the enemy's prisons and stood bravely against the system. The international community united for the first time in support of our just and noble cause, namely, the liberation of mankind from colonial apartheid.

Following the brutal murder of school children by the Pretoria regime on 16 June 1976, we again brought this matter before the United Nations and again the Organization condemned the regime and thenceforth observed 16 June every year as the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (Azania). The United Nations had by then created the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid in order to remain seized of our problem on a sustained and ongoing basis.

The annual observance of 9 August and 11 October as days of solidarity with the struggle of women and with political prisoners respectively has kept the international community conscious of the inhuman system in occupied Azania. Even as we address the Assembly today, the United Nations has deployed observers to monitor and report on the ongoing violence in our country, upon our request. We welcome the recent decision by the Security Council to enlarge and strengthen that mission.

We wish to thank the General Assembly, on behalf of the oppressed, exploited and socially degraded - but struggling - Azanian masses, for all the noble assistance and cooperation it has rendered to the liberation movements over the past three decades. Its contribution to our struggle is priceless, and we will always remember it.

We thank the Special Committee on decolonization for its tireless efforts and its contribution to the decolonization not only of Azania, but also of all other colonized countries in the world.

The talks which are continuing in the Negotiating Council have resulted in some positive developments - that much we acknowledge. However, the PAC urges the international community not to treat these positive developments as an end in themselves. The creation of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and its sub-council is a means to an end. The TEC started operating on 7 December 1993. The duty of the TEC is to level the political playing field in the run-up to elections. The political playing field is being levelled effectively in areas such as the supervision of elections, and the financing and control of State-owned electronic media: radio and television. The PAC is ready to participate effectively in the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority.

It was agreed in the Negotiating Council that a joint fund under the Independent Electoral Commission should be established, to which individual States should directly contribute to enable the parties to participate effectively in the forthcoming elections in Azania. We urge Member States to comply with that request.

There will be 8,000 voting stations set up around the country; that should be considered when the international community decides on the number of election monitors to be sent to Azania to ensure that the forthcoming elections are free and fair.

The PAC is not part of the Transitional Executive Council, for reasons which I will explain to the Assembly. The TEC Act places control over the South African

security forces solely in the hands of the white minority and reduces the African majority to mere advisers on deployment of the South African Defence Force (SADF). We are given no say on training, recruitment, structuring, sales and acquisition of weaponry, control over the arsenal of weaponry, manning of key posts in the Defence Force, and so forth. Moreover, the TEC has no jurisdiction over the navy and the air force. The result is that the paramilitary Internal Stability Unit and the Askaris continue to murder, maim and massacre our people. Today, the African community in our country is in an uproar over this. Murder bands such as the Buffalo Battalions 31 and 32, *Koevoet* and the Civil Co-operation Bureau have not been verifiably disbanded under international supervision.

Based on conclusive evidence, Justice Goldstone revealed last week what we already knew, namely, that the South African security forces trained the killers who commit the ongoing massacres in Natal. A summit of black political, religious and other leaders held in Azania two weeks ago decided that the violence was a well-orchestrated campaign by the regime. The South African regime is primarily responsible for the ongoing violence. Without effective control over the security forces we have no control over the agents of murder, and the elections will hence remain in jeopardy.

Furthermore, the regime continues to treat the Security Council's mandatory arms embargo with contempt. In this regard we must warn Member States that the PAC is not obliged to honour delivery or make refunds to any country with regard to any agreement on the sale of weapons entered into with the illegitimate regime in violation of the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa.

The TEC has failed to level the political playing field; in that regard the regime and its violence machinery continue operations of mayhem against our people. The TEC has failed in its stated mission and will remain discredited until the South African security forces are brought under effective joint control. The PAC is currently involved in bilateral discussions with the regime in order to solve the problem of joint control of the security forces, in order to eliminate, or diminish, the problems the violence is causing in the run-up to elections.

Another threat to elections is the right wing. The seriousness of the right wing's threat to elections is not confined to its refusal to commit itself to participation in the forthcoming elections; it extends to the right wing's control over the 140,000-strong armed commando units, which are twice the size of the South African Defence Force. Furthermore, Mr. De Klerk refuses to act against or disarm these commando units. Mr. De Klerk prefers to use the threat they pose as a negotiating tactic in order to elicit compromises from the liberation movements.

The Negotiating Council, under unjustifiable and undue influence by majority "homeland" puppet leaders who have no support and by the tricameral parliament parties based on a constitution which has been declared null and void by the United Nations, has adopted a package of agreements that will set conditions for the forthcoming elections and the transitional government. The transitional government will govern the country according to a transitional constitution drafted by the Negotiating Council. The main purpose of the transitional government is to govern during transition and to form a constituent assembly that will draft a new and final democratic constitution. We are concerned that the transitional government will continue to govern the country after a democratic constitution is finalized, and until the end of the century. We see no reason for this.

According to the package of agreements, the executive cabinet of the country after the elections will be nominated on the basis of power- and portfolio-sharing, resulting in a constitutionally entrenched coalition Government. The special majority required for the executive cabinet to take a decision effectively places the executive under minority vetoes and constitutionalizes a lame-duck government in which the majority party have responsibility but no real power. This is not only a classic example of neo-colonialism, but it is dangerous and leads to uncertainty, ineffective rule and entrenched conflict potential.

We are not opposed in principle to a unity government including small parties on a voluntary basis, but we do not equate this with constitutionally entrenched minority veto power, as proposed in the interim constitution which is expected to be passed in the South African Parliament this week.

The PAC will take part in the elections on 27 April 1994, but we will seek a mandate from the masses to overturn all the power-sharing provisions of the interim constitution. We will dissolve the interim government as soon as a new democratic constitution has been adopted by the Constituent Assembly. This position is in accordance with the position we maintained at the Negotiating Council, in accordance with good sense and in accordance with the wishes of the Azanian masses.

The Negotiating Council acceded to our demand that a final constitution be drafted only by elected and mandated representatives of the people in an elected Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly, however, will be bound by prior agreed- upon principles,

and a new court, to be known as the Constitutional Court, will have the power to declare the new constitution invalid if it deviates from the so-called principles. This too is totally unacceptable to the PAC. Our contention is that the elections will determine the will and mandate of the people and that this cannot be subject to the proscribing whims of undemocratic élitist committees. In the election campaign we will seek a mandate from the people to overturn those provisions in the transitional constitution which seek to fetter the Constituent Assembly. We will establish an unfettered sovereign, elected Constituent Assembly to draft a new democratic constitution solely on the basis of the will of the people.

In conclusion, we call on the United Nations and individual Member States to assist the liberation movement to play its role in rebuilding that country and also to round up its effective functions at the United Nations upon conclusion of the elections, and, further, to assist it in the relocation of its personnel and equipment to Azania.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.